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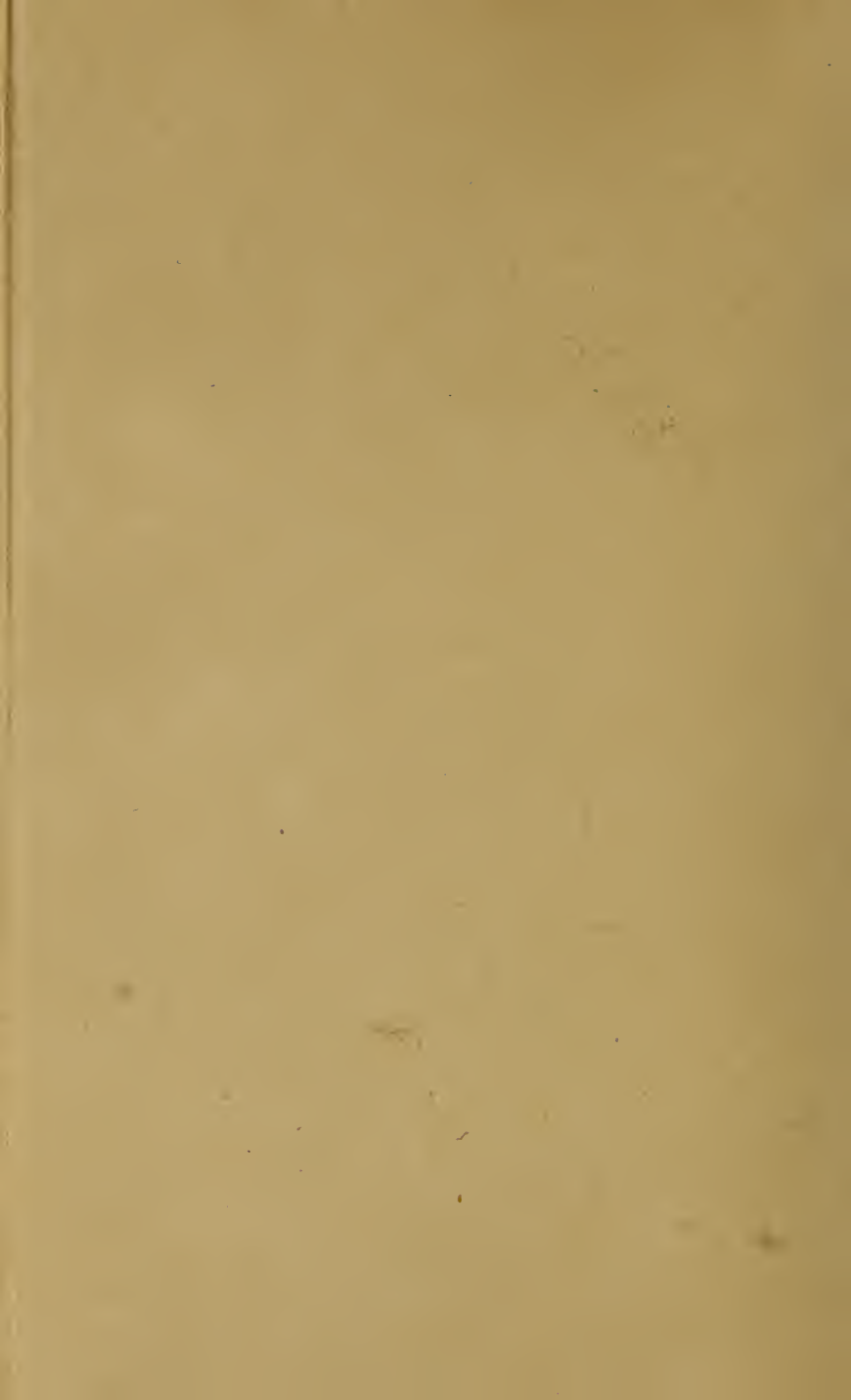
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The EDITH *and* LORNE PIERCE
COLLECTION *of* CANADIANA



Queen's University at Kingston



HOW TO DOUBLE

—THE—

WEALTH OF CANADA.



Imperial Federation.

Continental Union,

BY T. E. EWEN, M.A.



"To a Patriot the interests of his country are supreme."

PRINTED AT THE "DAILY ONTARIO" STEAM PRINTING HOUSE,
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INTRODUCTION.

Only indisputable facts, conjoined with the most conclusive arguments, could have the power to change the political proclivities of a descendant of the Canadian pioneers, who fought against the United States in 1812, and the Canadian Rebels in 1837-8.

The expatriation of my kindred first caused me to dare to think. Ten years ago the writer received a sudden summons to attend the funeral of his favorite uncle, the last of his generation. He left a widow and six stalwart sons. These sons were prosperous American citizens, scattered from Florida to Montana. I stood at his grave, the only male representative of our numerous race, born in Canada. Standing there I determined to ascertain the cause of the expatriation of my kin, and to do my utmost to apply the remedy.

Rare opportunities for investigation were afforded me. I travelled from Newfoundland to our North West, visiting every city and almost every hamlet in our Dominion.

Many of our mines revealed to me their wealth. I travelled thousands of miles in our lumber forests, and assisted in drawing in seines on all our great lakes. The language of our farms is to me a mother tongue. I know and love Canada.

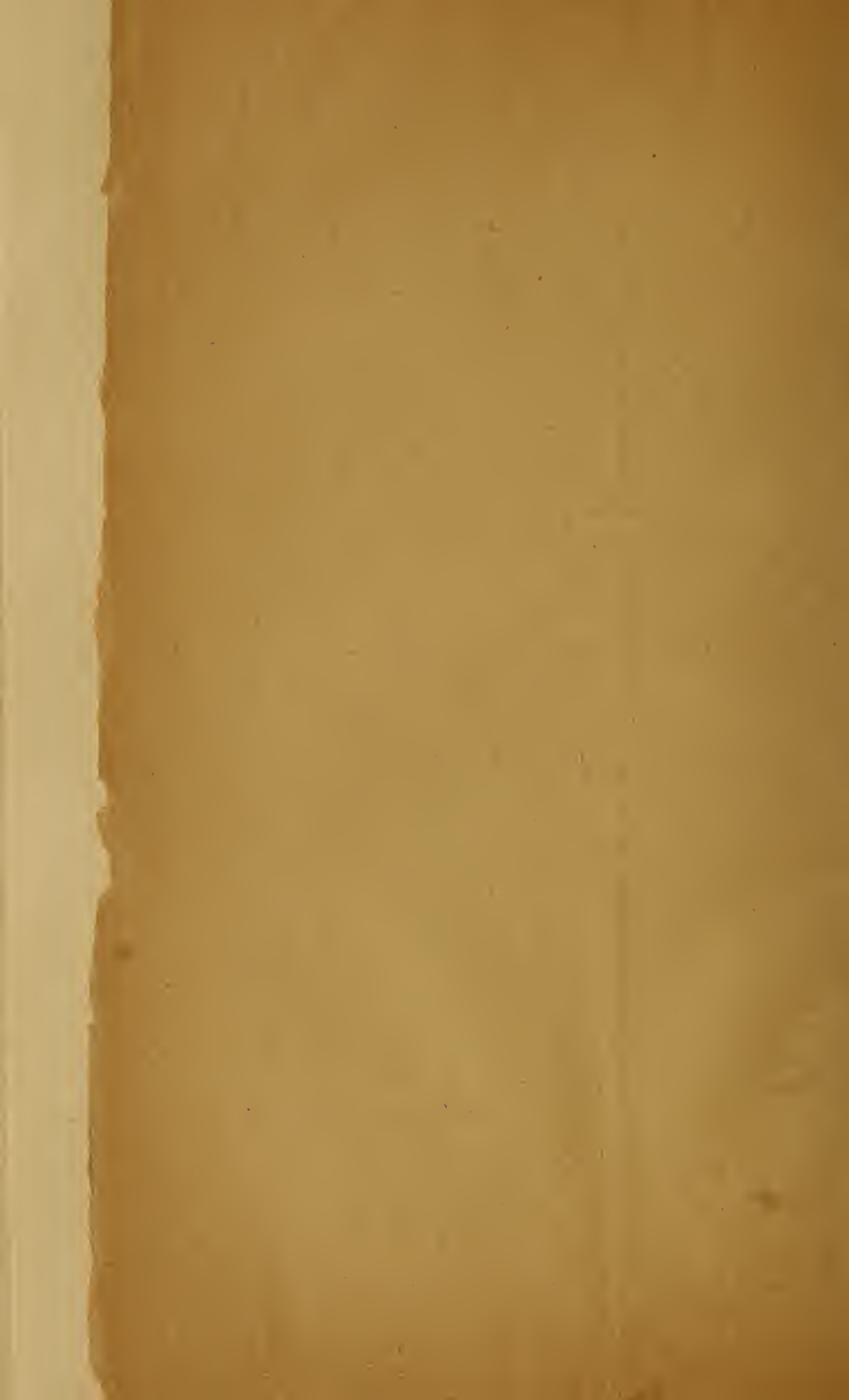
After years of study, the conclusion unwillingly arrived at was:—The exile of my countrymen is caused by *Continental isolation*. The remedy followed as a logical sequence.

I believe this little treatise only embodies in words the unspoken thoughts of many of my cautious, patient and unobtrusive fellow-citizens; men tenacious of old ideas; slow to move, but once convinced impossible to change or intimidate. This treatise is a partial summary of my observations and conclusions. It is small; but doubtless some wish it were smaller; disjointed, having been written in time spared from business; incomplete, dozens of volumes would leave the subject unexhausted; but such as it is, kindly extend to it your perusal and consideration.

T. E. EWEN.

BELLEVILLE, Jan., 1893.

To all Canadian Patriots, and especially to the descendants of our Pioneers, I dedicate this little work.



THE HOMES OF CANADA.

Many Canadians adopt as their motto: "Man was made to mourn," and sit with folded hands and shaking heads, lamenting over the existing depression. Others prefer the manly utterance of Carlyle:—"Man was made to work," and energetically advocate which ever political policy they believe will be the most beneficial to the homes of Canada.

Canadians are essentially a race of energetic workers. This quality we have inherited from our forefathers, who in search of fortune, bid farewell to their trans-Atlantic homes, and crossed the ocean to live in Canada, then considered a frozen wilderness. Canada has a parentage of which she has every reason to be proud. Our forefathers, the pioneers of our country received their rugged but kindly land direct from the hands of the Great Architect of the Universe. These stalwart men faced danger with courage, cheerfully endured privations and isolation; hewed their homes out of solitudes, and out of a wilderness—a no man's land—made their Canada. They made Canada. Canada was theirs. To their memory we first and foremost owe our allegiance. We, their descendants, inherited our Canada from them. Our dangers have been few, but we met them with courage. Our commercial privations, caused by continental isolation, have been many and great, but we have borne them hopefully. We cheerfully obey our laws because they are of our own making, having been enacted by legislators elected only by ourselves. We appoint our judges, hence our courts of justice are of our own creation. We are developing the resources of one of the fairest gifts to man, and supporting our Governments—not our governments us. Therefore Canada is solely ours, and if we are Canadian patriots, her welfare and interests are to us of paramount importance.

Individually we are toiling to support our homes. Home, with its hallowed and endearing associations, means more to the Anglo-Saxon and his kin than to the man of any other race. No language contains the equivalent of our word "Home." If it is morally right to benefit our homes, whose good is the chief object of our desires, and great incentive to our labors, then the political policy that will confer the greatest happiness and prosperity upon our homes is the one to manfully advocate. For, in the words of Burke,—“That which is morally right cannot be politically wrong.”

Christmas witnesses re-united families, but in Canada at

many a Christmas dinner the son of the house was absent—in exile in a foreign land. How the dear old mother's eyes would have brightened! how the father's hand would have clasped his! and how the children would have clustered around him if the absent one had unexpectedly stepped in! Can the policy be wrong which would give this great joy to this family? Continental Union, by distributing the great attracting mercantile and manufacturing industries equally over all this Continent will recall many of the absent sons and daughters of Canada and prevent their departure in the future. This would cause increased happiness in our homes; hence, it must be not only right, but our duty to thoroughly investigate this policy, using the love of our homes as a lamp to lighten and guide our footsteps.

FINANCIAL PROSPERITY.

Which political policy will confer the greatest financial prosperity upon our Canadian homes?

The reader will please bear in mind that the writer is not to be reprehended on account of the following facts being in existence:—

Britain acts honestly towards Canada, and as generously as consistent with her own interests—nothing more. Wheat, cheese and beef are our chief exports to Great Britain. But wheat, cheese and beef, of the same quality from Russia, the United States or Canada always have, and always will command, the same prices in the British markets. Therefore, as regards the amount of money we obtain from our transatlantic exports, it is financially immaterial whether Canada is a part of Russia, the United States or the British Empire. England a workshop containing forty odd millions, does not, and dare not, discriminate in favor even of her own food producers, much less of ours. Therefore our allegiance to Great Britain neither has nor will, financially benefit us on our exports to Europe. As for buying cheaply from Britain, that is not the question. Show us the policy that will provide us with more money, and we will, like England, buy in the cheapest markets, or manufacture the goods ourselves, free of duty on the American Continent.

Therefore, as British allegiance is of no money value to Canada, on our exports to Britain, any political connection that will furnish us with more money from our exports elsewhere is

of more financial benefit to our homes. Our exports elsewhere consist principally of products sent to the markets of the United States, the chief of which are minerals, fish, lumber and farm produce. The policy which will obtain for us the most money from these sources of our wealth is therefore the one that will be, from a financial standpoint, the most beneficial to Canada. Continental Union is the policy that will provide the most money therefrom, consequently it is the best for us to advocate if we desire to increase the financial prosperity of our homes.



I.—MINERALS.

Canada contains every mineral except tin. The Canadian iron ore, containing less phosphorus than the American production, is the best on the continent; yet the United States' out-put is \$50,000,000, and the Canadian out-put only the one-sixth of a million. One reason that the ratio of our ore is as 300 to 1 is, that the Canadian market, besides being too limited, has its centres of population so far apart that the cost of transportation exceeds the profits. Other causes are, the American duty on Canadian ore, and the proposed Canadian export duty on some minerals. The American duties on iron ore and bituminous and lignite coal are 75 cents a ton, and $\frac{1}{2}$ cent per lb. on the copper contained in its ore. Capitalists, whether British, American or Canadian, are thorough citizens of the world, and would not long be capitalists if they did not regard business matters solely from their financial standpoints. Hence, they wisely refuse to operate Canadian mines in preference to American, when the mines and the markets would be in different countries; and their heavy immovable investments would be subject to the poverty, cupidity, caprice or antagonism of either government.

In nickel and copper, Sudbury and Lake Superior districts are unrivalled. There is only one other nickel mine in the world, known to, and utilized by, modern science for commercial purposes. Look at our undeveloped mineral wealth. The ridges of copper at Sudbury are actually miles long. In Canada, only four miles from Lake Superior there is one mountain nugget of pure copper one thousand feet thick, which if it were situated only a few miles to the south, in the United States, would be worth fifteen million dollars. The amount of visible copper in that region is incalculable, but situated where it is, it is all utterly valueless. We know the reason. Britain does not want it, for her ocean vessels can load at the equally unexhaustible copper mines of Newfoundland. The United States does not want it, for they have copper inside their ring of nations, and outside of that ring they never unnecessarily go for supplies of raw material.

Let us form an idea of what ought to be in Canada, from what is transpiring in the immediate vicinity, but unfortunately across the line. Let us ascertain the profits of just two mines, on the American side of Lake Superior. During the last 30 years they have paid to their owners an annual profit above all

expenses of considerably above \$1,000,000. Picture what hives of industry would be created around all those mineral treasures of ours, by Continental Union supplying the needed enterprise, capital and markets. And then estimate, if you can, the immensity of the direct benefits that would result to our people; and the prosperity and happiness that would consequently permeate our homes. Canada, my country! why continue self-imposed, to enact the part of Tantalus, and the unattainable life-sustaining draught? The *role* is neither wise nor heroic, and certainly is both cruel and unjust to those whose welfare is sacredly entrusted to your care.

The practical criterion of the mechanical advancement and civilization of a nation is not its yearly crop of politicians, but its annual *per capita* consumption of iron ore. The amount of the out-put of its mines is not necessarily identical with its internal consumption. The nation whose *per capita* use of iron is the greatest in the world is the United States. Although it contains only 5 per cent. of the earth's population, yet it consumes annually one-third of the world's iron, steel, lead, and copper, two-fifths of its coal, and one-half of its tin. Therefore, right next door is the best mineral market on this globe. In 1892 our total mineral exports were only about \$5,000,000, of which, notwithstanding the duties, the United States took 80 per cent. The American capitalist, having plenty of minerals in his own country, does not work foreign mines under adverse laws, when it is also necessary to pay a duty to get the minerals into the American markets. Hence, the Bruce mines are unworked; while almost inwitsight, in the United States, 7 million tons of iron and copper ores were taken out in 1889, worth at the mines \$25,000,000, and at the point of delivery \$35,000,000, having paid \$10,000,000 for lake freights.

It has been admitted by Governor Andrews, of Mass., that as a state of the American Union, Nova Scotia, having now the requisites of iron, coal, and flux in proximity, would, with the extra advantages of the adjacent markets of New England, soon rival, if not excel, Pennsylvania in great iron industries. The youth of Quebec are fleeing from the banks of our beautiful St. Lawrence as if its shores were plague stricken. The factories of the Eastern States welcome them as the material out of which to form the best of operatives. In future our co-patriots would find congenial employment, without being expatriated. As a free American state, Nova Scotia would also ship immense quantities of coal from her inexhaustable mines

to the bordering New England States which are destitute of coal. In Nova Scotia, seven hundred feet under ground, the writer saw mines work eight hours for 60 cents. Miners would then receive men's wages for men's work.

Here is a startling fact:—In the North West territories and British Columbia the deposits of lignite and bituminous coal are larger than all England, and only Continental Union will furnish, as an abundant and assuredly permanent market, the whole of the American Pacific coast.

Basing our calculations upon the well-known fact that Wisconsin and Michigan employ one-fourth of a million miners, Canada, with Continental Union, will have in ten years at least one-fourth of a million additional miners, and another one-eighth of a million men employed in iron and copper manufacturing—equal to an additional population of nearly two million. If we suppose that under Continental Union the increase of our mineral exports for all Canada will only equal the output of the states of the Union, Michigan and Wisconsin, we will have yearly increased output of \$25,000,000. If we add to this our present exports, it will give a total of \$30,000,000 annually. Our present export of \$5,000,000 is comparatively an amount of nothing. No country in the world is richer in minerals, and the insignificance of our present mineral exports is solely caused by our suicidal Continental isolation. Continental Union will give us freely, fully and perpetually, the nearest and best mineral market in the world.

Two men will not enter into a contract to exchange commodities unless each considers he is receiving in return goods of equal value. Commercial treaties between nations are also contracts of exchange to their mutual advantage, on the basis of giving and receiving equal benefits; otherwise the treaties will not be satisfactory or permanent. It must be remembered that the American Government is composed of patriotic business men who desire every commercial treaty to be to the advantage of their country. Consequently, they will make no treaty with Canada when the advantage is altogether in our favor. Our iron being free from phosphorus is far superior to theirs for the manufacture of the higher grades of iron and steel. If our minerals were permanently admitted free of duty, the consequences would be that many of their mines would cease operations, and thousands of men and millions of money would be transferred to Canada. In fact, almost every dollar we would derive from our minerals or from their manufacture

would be a dollar taken from the United States. Therefore, as regards our minerals, it would be an act of the most consummate folly on the part of the United States to enter into a commercial treaty with Canada, which would be solely to the injury of their country. The Americans, most assuredly, will not extend the advantages they possess within their Union to aliens, who do not desire to benefit their country, who do not assist in building it up or maintaining its laws, and whose only object is selfish aggrandizement at its expense. This is not likely to be the course pursued by a nation whose first and only interests are the welfare of its own people. Consequently, the only method by which Canada can obtain an equal share with the States of the wealth to be derived from her minerals is by complete unity of interests. This means Continental Union.

Our present food exports to Great Britain, of wheat, cheese and beef, would not be sufficient to feed the two million additional inhabitants that the opening of the American markets for our minerals would give us.

II.—FISHERIES.

The Sea Fisheries of Canada are among the richest and most important in the world, while the Fresh Water Fisheries of the Great Lakes are nowhere to be surpassed, the total value of which, in 1891, was about \$20,000,000. Here again, the United States is our best market. The duty, however, being 4 cent per lb., the fishermen, wherever possible unfurled their sails and hastened to the American flag and have their homes on American soil. in order to enter their fish free of duty. This is exemplified by the fact that out of the total annual Lake Erie catch of \$3,500,000, Canadian vessels captured less than \$500,000. Continental Union is the only policy that will induce the fishermen to permanently locate their homes convenient to the best fishing grounds, which are generally nearer the Canadian shores. Continental Union would forever abolish the American duty on fish when caught by Canadians. These duties at present drive the fishermen on the American shores. Political Union would cause the homes of the fishermen of Lake Erie to be equally and permanently distributed along both the Canadian and American shores; therefore, in all probability they would both catch equal quantities of fish, which would be \$1,750,000 each.

This would be three times the present Lake Erie catch of the Canadian fishermen. If we apply this rule to the catch of Ontario, it would increase the annual catch of fish caught by those living on Canadian shores and sailing vessels built in Canada by \$6,000,000. If, in order to be certain to be within the bounds of reasonable probability, we only assert that Continental Union will increase the catch of the fish of all Canada to the extent that it would probably benefit one province, we have still an annual financial increase to our wealth of \$6,000,000.

III.—SHIP BUILDING AND LAKE FREIGHTS.

Canada, besides thousands of miles of sea coast, has the largest and most important system of inland navigation in the world, as illustrated by Port Arthur and Liverpool being almost equidistant from our Atlantic ports.

Canada having timber which is in requisition the world wide for ship building, we would naturally expect that the American Clyde would be in Canada. But it is at Cleveland where, in 1891, new vessels were built having a tonnage of 71,000, which was 17,000 more tonnage than built in all Canada. On the Great Lakes during 1892 there were building on the American side 50 steel steamers of 2,000 to 3,000 tons each and on the Canadian side, only two steamers of 200 tons. On the one per cent. of the first-class shipping on the Great Lakes Canadian. In 1892 the total tonnage that passed through the Canadian Welland Canal was less than one million, a great part of which was American through freight from Duluth to Chicago to American Lake Ontario ports. Whereas the freight that passed through the American Sault Ste Marie Canal was over ten million tons, and that which passed by Detroit was over a million tons, only one per cent. of which was carried in Canadian bottoms. No comments are necessary.

The principal reasons for this deplorable condition are as follows:—

The United States do not allow Canadian vessels to carry freights from one American port to another. The American duties do not permit of a large trade in heavy freights from Canada to the United States. The only present outlet from our North West is by means of the Canadian Pacific; and this railroad takes good care that no freights entrusted to it leave its line, so as to proceed from Port Arthur, by the otherwise cheaper lake routes. Continental Union is the only pol-

which will abolish every one of these serious and unjust disadvantages to the marine interests of Canada.

The majority of our young Canadians, as soon as they become experienced seamen, move to the United States, and become American citizens, because only American citizens are permitted to sail in American vessels. It is to their interest to do this, because the Americans pay far better wages. An able seaman obtains from 25 to 35 per cent. and an officer from 20 to 30 per cent. higher salary than he would receive if he sailed in a Canadian vessel.

The total annual value of the Great Lakes' freight and ship-building is now about \$45,000,000. When this \$45,000,000 is annually paid out, Canada is conspicuous by receiving less than \$3,000,000. Only Political Union will enable her to obtain her just share of it.

The inhabited portion of Eastern Canada possesses according to its area, more miles of navigable water than any part of the American Continent,—in fact it is the Britain of America. The Mediterranean and the Gibraltar of this Continent belong to us, and the ocean outlet of the Great Lakes is ours. Though nature has been lavish with us, yet, on account of our foolish isolation, our shores are comparatively shipless.

On the American side of the Great Lakes prosperity and enterprise have gone hand in hand. They have enlarged the canals on the upper lakes at great expense, but their wealthy Republic felt it no burden. The construction of the Sault Ste Marie Canal reflects credit upon the American nation, and its commerce exceeds that of the outlet of the Mediterranean to India, the great Suez Canal. The reason the Republic has not, at similar expense, improved the navigation of the lower lakes is because they do not possess the St. Lawrence River, the outlet to the ocean.

Continental Union would transform our shores, for the American Government has even now in contemplation that, if our destinies were united, they would deepen and widen all the canals so that the largest ocean vessels could sail direct from Chicago and Port Arthur to London and Liverpool. This would make all our lake and river ports, in reality, ocean ports. The traffic would be immense, for much of the soil in the neighborhood of our Great Lakes is unsurpassed in the world for fertility; the mineral wealth is unequalled; and the prairies of the far west pour out their golden grain in millions of bushels. The great manufacturing and mercantile centres of the earth would

be along our inland waters, and the commerce of the Mediterranean would be small in comparison with that of our Great Lakes.

IV.—LUMBER.

The amount of timber annually cut in Canada is immense. This fact may be realized from the gigantic figures necessary to use when speaking of even that part of the production of our forests which we export. In 1890, among the exports were 1,500,000,000 feet of sawed logs, 5,500,000 cubic feet of square timber, and 1,000,000 railroad ties. Besides these there were exported immense quantities of hard-wood lumber, cord-wood, pulp-wood, tan-bark, shingles, posts, telegraph poles, etc.

The United States, having less timber *per capita* than even Germany, is our great market. The duty, however, varies from \$1.00 to \$2.50 per 1,000 feet. This duty caused the Canadian to contribute to the revenue of the Great Republic between 1865 and 1890 \$20,000,000 in order that access might be gained for our lumber to the markets of this continent. The result from the American duty and the great cost to send the lumber to any other country, is that it only remunerates us to saw in lumber for export the choicest logs out of each tree that is cut down. Consequently, millions of dollars worth of inferior logs are annually left to rot in our timber limits, as the writer's eyes have seen.

Basing our calculations upon the above giant figures, and remembering that our exports of \$23,633,675 annually, only represent that part of the felled timber which is remunerated under existing circumstances, we cannot place the unnecessary yearly waste of our inferior lumber at less than \$2,000,000 annually. Continental Union is the only policy that will permanently give Canada all the adjacent markets of this Continent free of duty. This will enable her to obtain remunerative prices for her inferior grades of pine and hard-wood lumber and timber, now not worth paying the duty on and exporting. This waste and loss would then cease, and we would effect an annual saving of at least \$2,000,000 worth of the products of our forests, now allowed to rot on account of the duty debarring them from free admission to the near markets of the United States.

A perusal of the trade and navigation report for 1892, reveals the following facts, well worthy of the attention of the inhabitants of the Province of Ontario:—

The value of the total exports, the products of this Province, were in 1892 \$29,915,939, of which \$460,000 were from our fisheries, \$875,000 from our mines, \$8,332,000 from our forests, \$15,800,000 from our farms, and only \$3,404,000 from our factories.

Of these total exports of thirty millions of dollars, the United States, notwithstanding the restrictions imposed upon trade bought 18½ million dollars worth, and Britain with the great advantage of free trade markets only 11¼ million dollars worth, which is 58 per cent. to the United States and only 38 per cent. to Britain.

These figures revive our faith in the accuracy of the faded map of Upper Canada that hung on the walls of the old school-house of our boyhood.

The Province of Ontario was there depicted, not as a part of Europe, but as being snugly wedged in between the states of New York and Michigan, and with them forming the center of the Eastern half of the Continent of North America.

But to resume, the United States bought all the lumber exported by Ontario, and this lumber formed one-half of the total exports of this province to the Republic.

This standing timber was not the product of the labor and skill of man, neither does nature produce it rapidly. Canadians little know how quickly and recklessly our grand forests are being annihilated. The government, satisfied with collecting dues from the choicest timber, allows the rest to rot or to be burnt together with the very soil which could, if preserved only in generations hereafter, reproduce it. No generation is now entitled to more of this timber than nature produces during the life-time of that generation, and any infringement upon this rule is a violation of the rights of our descendants, and an over-raval upon the capital entrusted to our province.

Some of the legislators of Ontario pose as paragons of political rectitude and economy.

Would you consider the trustee who recklessly used up both the interest and the capital of a valuable estate, belonging to infant heirs to be either honest, economical or truthful when he said :—"Admire me for I have managed the estate well. We are not in debt." How the minors of that estate would at their majority curse that trustee.

The Ontario governments have connived at and shared in the profits derived from the wholesale and reckless destruction of the forest heritage of the future generations of Canadians.

They have lived upon the capital of our Province and not upon its legitimate income. The great source of their income, the forest part of our capital will soon be gone,—and what then?

Foreseeing this approaching deficiency in the revenue, an attempt was made by our provincial legislatures to duplicate their forest method upon our mineral wealth, by means of royalties and export duties, with the result, that these infant industries were nipped in the bud, and all capitalists were thus made cognizant of the existence of the above facts, and the resultant danger to taxable investments in Ontario.

The consequence is, that no capitalist feels safe in investing any large amount of money in working mines in Ontario under our existing Provincial Government.

Besides the waste of our timber, there is another great loss in our lumber business on account of continental isolation. The United States need our timber, but at the same time desire to obtain all the employment possible for their citizens. Consequently, they allow logs to enter their country free of duty,—but they put a duty of \$1.00 per 1,000 feet on roughly sawn boards, and a higher duty of \$2.50 per 1,000 on all boards that are planed and grooved, and still a higher duty on all lumber that is more highly finished. The result is, that Canada is a hewer of wood, and the United States saw, plane and finish. To prove this, the Spanish River district furnished 140,000,000 feet of unsawn logs to the United States; and three quarters of the logs that were sawed last year at the extensive mills at Bay City and Saginaw, Michigan, were from Canada. Where it is impossible to export it altogether free of duty in the crude shape of logs, it is sawn in Canada into rough boards, and these are sent to the United States at the lowest possible duty. These rough boards are then planed and finished in the United States by thousands upon thousands of American workmen.

Continental Union would change all this. The bulk and freight is far less when the lumber is sawn and finished. Labor is cheaper in Canada, and our water powers are more numerous and more conveniently situated for this work. Consequently, if there were no duties between us and our American markets, almost all the lumber would be sawn and finished in Canada. As the result of this new demand for labor, it has been carefully estimated by an Ottawa lumber king, that, when continental union is consummated, the population of his city will immediately increase one-half. What would be true of Ottawa would also be true of many of our other towns and hamlets.

This would greatly increase our prosperity, and also furnish employment to many thousands who are now annually compelled to leave their Canadian homes. Our hardy and skillful shantymen and river-drivers are universally acknowledged by all extensive travellers to be the best men in the world at their occupations. These fearless sons of toil would then obtain congenial employment in our numerous mills and factories when crippled by accident, rheumatism or old age. Only political union will induce the United States to take the duty off the finished lumber, and thus relinquish this great source of wealth to Canada—who would then be their sister.

Politicians, who aspire to the dignity of Canadian statesmen, will do well to solve this problem. Whether is it better to advocate a policy that will furnish employment for Canadians at home in Canada, and have other nations pay us for the finished products of our labor? Or to remain as we are—merely the purveyors of raw material, the hewers of wood for foreign countries?

V—CANADIAN EXILES.

Remember the fate of Spain! Drained of her young blood, she lost her vigor, and from a first-class power fell to a third. Britain's emigrants are chiefly in families, therefore emigration is not injurious to her. Our emigrants are principally young men. These men, intellectually or physically, no nation can equal or replace. A nation, whose policy annually expatriates her most vigorous young men, must eventually deteriorate both mentally and physically, because the powerful leave, and the weaker elements of its population remain. The effects of a policy of this nature are more detrimental to a country than a pestilence or a famine, for these carry off principally the weak and the aged. This being the case, it is the solemn duty of every patriot to put aside all minor and baser motives and consult in friendly spirit with his brother Canadians, how best the ravages of an evil, more injurious to his country than pestilence or famine, may be stopped. This exodus of our youth is a fatal blow at the vitality of our nation; therefore, we must remember that sometimes desperate diseases require desperate remedies, and that any efficacious remedy is better than the consequences of a fatal disease. Let us be patriots to our beloved Canada, and look at the facts squarely and unflinchingly, and immediately apply the remedy that our reason tells us will be the most

certain and permanent. It is both wrong and foolish for us to allow the ephemeral politics of the hour, or prejudices concerning the distant or the past, to militate against the present welfare of our homes and Canada.

Those who do not wish to recognize the depression existing in Canada, as the cause of the present exodus, say that there has always been a drift of population from the colder to the milder climates; and that as soon as the Middle States are filled, there will be a reflux of emigration to Canada. This is true to only the most limited extent. Our young men are the sons of hardy sires. These sires, in search of homes and fortune left the milder climate of Britain to come to what was then considered a frozen wilderness. Our young men, like their forefathers, seeing little hope of success at home go where fortune favors. If the brightest prospects of success on this continent were 200 miles north of their Canadian homes there they would go. Success they are determined to achieve. Difficulties, even dangers, are only an incentive to action. If the chances of success in Canada and the States were equal they would prefer to reside in Canada. Converse with the next ten Canadian emigrants you meet, and be convinced that effeminacy is not a characteristic of our countrymen. To further prove this, our youth settle in parts of the United States that are on an average as cold as their Canadian homes; and this, too, when Florida and Southern California would welcome them as readily as Michigan or Dakota.

The emigration from Canada to the States is about three hundred daily. This includes both those born in Canada and in foreign countries.

The population of the three counties adjoining the county in which the writer's home is situated, have decreased 12 per cent. during the last ten years. Then contrast this fact:—The three states bordering on his province have increased in population during the same time as follows:—New York, three-quarters of a million; Ohio and Michigan half a million each.

Chicago, during the same time, increased more in wealth and population than all Canada, and to-day contains more Canadians than any city in the Dominion, west of Montreal, with the single exception perhaps of Toronto. Detroit has a population of 260,000. Windsor, with equal shipping facilities, and with four railroads entering it, has only 10,000. Seventeen years ago Manitoba and Dakota started even, with 14,000 whites each. To-day Dakota contains more people than the Dominion can

boast of between Ottawa and the Pacific Ocean. In many counties of Dakota the first question that one naturally asks a stranger is, "Well, what part of Canada did you come from?"

Isolate any one of the States of the American Union from the rest of this Continent, and its fate will be similar to that of Canada.

Continental Union, by distributing the attracting factories and mercantile enterprises equally over this Continent, opening up our mines, and giving us our rightful number of fishermen, ship-builders and sailors, will increase the population of Canada several millions. We would retain at least 30,000 men out of the many thousand more who annually leave us to assist in building up the great country to the south. A man on an average pays into the revenue of his country \$1,000 during his life-time in direct and indirect taxation. Thirty thousand Canadians retain each year hereafter, at \$1,000 *per capita*, is \$30,000,000 annually. If we confine our attention to the amount of revenue the United States obtains by means of taxes alone, from these 30,000 Canadians, it declares that Canada makes the United States a yearly gift, equivalent to \$30,000,000. No wonder Canada is poor when she has thus been aiding the United States to rapidly pay off their national debt. If we capitalize this \$30,000,000 at four per cent. per annum, it is equivalent to a capital of \$750,000,000. In other words, if Canada wished to deposit a sum of money so that the interest thereof, at four per cent. per annum, would be equivalent to the value of this annual exodus, she would require to deposit \$750,000,000.

VI—IMMIGRATION.

The emigrant from Europe is generally a man dissatisfied with kingly rule; consequently, not desirous of becoming again a subject, even of her most Gracious Majesty, but wishes to be the monarch of himself. Even of the total British emigration of 1890, the United States got 80 per cent.

Being a part of an Empire, is the principal reason that the emigrant from the Continent of Europe avoids Canada. Because, all kingdoms and empires, Britain included, for their own jealous interests, have mutually enacted, that taking the oath of allegiance to a foreign potentate, does not free any man from military servitude to the land of his nativity. The German

and Scandinavian emigrant, when leaving his home and fatherland, has a firm intention to revisit them, but he desires to be able to return from America, without the fear of being impressed into a European army. He knows that the foreign born American citizen is almost the only man, who can walk the streets of his native European town without the dread conscription. Consequently, the European wisely emigrates to the American Republic, and not to a part of the British Empire. There is also on the Continent of Europe, among the Germans and Scandinavians, the same jealous aversion against all things English, that some Canadians have against the Americans.

Canada has only retained 19,000 out of the 800,000 immigrants that she has imported from Europe during the last ten years, at a cost to her, of between \$3,000,000 and \$4,000,000. The immigrants have accepted the assisted passages offered by Canada to aid them to reach the United States. Hence each immigrant that Canada retained cost her nearly \$200, which was just \$199.99 more than some of them were worth in any country.

The United States immigration was, at the close of the American war, 750,000 annually. During the last few years the Republic has rejected the undesirable applicants for admission to her country, and thus restricted the immigration to 500,000 a year. Unlike Canada, it did not desire to import mental and physical contaminations from the slums of the cities of Britain or the Continent, even if they paid their own passages. The States have now only a small quantity of first-class land to offer to settlers which does not require expensive irrigation.

Canada possesses great undeveloped mineral wealth and large areas of unoccupied and fertile land; therefore, under the Continental Union, she will be the part of the new confederation that will be specially boomed. Many of the present inhabitants of the United States will then immigrate to Eastern Canada, and develop our mines, and find employment in new manufacturing industries. There will also be a large influx from the Western States to the generous prairies of our North West. In addition, Canada will obtain a great part, if not the greater part, of the large immigration that naturally tends from northern Europe to America. Continental Union is the only power that will cause the effective American immigration agency to boot Canada, to fill up our North West, to realize the dream of 20

millions in our borders, and to find lucrative employment for them all. If we limit this annual stream of immigration to 40,000 men, Americans, Britons, Scandinavians and Germans, it yet means an enormous addition to Canada's wealth. She would derive from each of them on an average \$1,000 during his life-time by means of direct and indirect taxation. Forty thousand immigrants yearly at \$1,000 each is \$40,000,000 annually.

The Canadian Governments must consider immigration to be desirable, for they have spent many millions of dollars upon this object. The advocates of Continental Union have an immigration policy to submit to the the approval of the voters of Canada, which is one of the most advantageous and gigantic that has ever been offered to the consideration of any country in the world. If our present government could induce the entire population of France to settle in Canada, and bring all their sunny fields with them, they would neither, in population or territory, equal the advantages offered by this policy. If the government also induced the whole population of Norway, Sweden, Holland and Belgium to emigrate to Canada and bring all their mountains and fertile vales with them, all these would not yet counterbalance. If in despair, our government compelled Switzerland, Portugal, Turkey-in-Europe and Greece, with all their territories and populations, to also move to Canada, these millions belonging to many nationalities, would now only equal the population that Continental Union offers to Canada. But this supposed immigration would possess a glaring and irreparable defect. The population would not be similar to our own, and we would never be able to assimilate these diverse millions, for we cannot even assimilate the present population of Canada.

The immediate immigration that Continental Union offers to Canada is 65,000,000, not of foreigners, but of our own brethren already at home in our own continent. Many generations will pass away, before Europe will offer to Canada a similar number of immigrants.

The population of the United States consumes more *per capita* of both the necessities and luxuries of life, than any country in Europe, and the Republic possesses more men who can read and write than any trans-Atlantic nation. But some say these 65,000,000 do not live in Canada. This is true, but the majority of them live nearer Canada than the Provinces are to each other. Their people are also more similar to the

Canadians who reside in the contiguous Provinces, than the populations of the distant parts of Canada are to each other. New York State is nearer to Ontario than Prince Edward Island, and the people are also more similar. The inhabitants of Manitoba and Dakota are almost identical, and only a road separates them:—But British Columbia and Quebec are far asunder in the characteristics of their people, as they are distant in territory. Carefully consider whether it is better to accept our relatives the United States of Britons, about whom we know the best and the worst; or to take 65 million immigrants from Europe to our bosom, about whom we know little, and that little often in their disfavor?

VII—DUTIES.

We pay \$6,000,000 annually in duties to the United States in order to get our products to their markets. Only Continental Union will entirely and permanently remove this barrier to commerce, and payment of tribute to the revenues of the United States without any corresponding benefit to Canada.

VIII—CUSTOM HOUSES AND DOMINION GOVERNMENT.

The great extent of the dividing line between Canada and the United States, a patrol of 4,000 miles, and the ample facilities thus afforded for smuggling, necessitates both governments maintaining an army of custom officials. It is stated by the Government of the United States, regarding her custom houses bordering on Canada, that the cost of collection, compared to the amount collected, is disproportionately large, in comparison with any other part of her revenue. This is also true in Canada. Continental Union will dismiss the majority of the officers now belonging to the Canadian custom houses bordering on the United States, and allow them to add by useful labor to the wealth of their respective provinces.

The internal government of our provinces will not be perceptibly changed by Continental Union. The Provincial governments will remain almost unchanged, and, in addition to their present legislation, they will perform a great part of that now done at Ottawa. The Dominion Government, with its useful, ornamental and expensive adjuncts, now numbers over 350 salaried members and officials, either employed or lounging

around the Parliament buildings at Ottawa. Continental Union will promote about 40 of these to a higher and larger sphere of action, and permit over 300 to retire to private life, adding thereby to their own and the nation's wealth.

The saving that will be effected by Continental Union in the Department of Customs and the Dominion Government will exceed \$1,000,000 annually. This saving can only be effected by Continental Union, for the most vivid imagination cannot conceive of the Governor General, High Commissioner, Senate, —in short, of 300 of the members and salaried officials at Ottawa, disbanding themselves just for the good of Canada; still less of them, dismissing the majority of their *useful* lieutenants in the Customs Department, to earn honest bread. Many of those persons who would be dismissed are estimable as private individuals. But, in their present positions they are a great and useless expense—a tax and restriction upon commerce; consequently an injury to us and to the prosperity of Canada.

IX—CANADIAN DEBT.

The Dominion and Provincial debts, amounting now to at least \$260,000,000, will be assumed under Continental Union by the new Confederacy. Canada then will pay her *per capita* share of the total debts of the new nation. This \$260,000,000, although now \$52 *per capita* to our Canadian population, will be, under Continental Union, less than \$4 *per capita* to the new confederacy of 70 million people. The present United States debt is \$10 *per capita* which, added to the \$4 as above, will give \$14 as the debt *per capita* to the new Confederacy. Then the debt, to 5 million Canadians at \$14 *per capita*, will be a total of \$70,000,000, instead of our present \$260,000,000. This would represent a saving of \$190,000,000 to Canada. Nothing but Continental Union will cancel this large amount of our indebtedness. This debt, if it annually increases as in the past, will eventually crush us.

X—REAL ESTATE.

The total value of the real estate of the Canadian people is not in the Canadian year book, but the wealth of all Canada is stated to be \$4,765,000,000. Hence, the probable value of the real estate is at least \$3,200,000,000.

Tax sales, vacant houses, and deserted farms speak of a

lack of population in Canada. Our unworked mines and shipless shores tell of a lack of markets for heavy freights under existing circumstances. The comparison of quotations for agricultural products here and in the adjoining States proclaims continental isolation. These are the chief causes of the depreciation in the values of real estate, too keenly felt to require comment.

Continental Union, by increasing the population, volume of trade, and wealth from mine, sea, field and forest, will cause the value of real estate to advance at least 25 per cent. throughout the Dominion. This will effect a gain to Canada of \$800,000,000 in real estate values. During the boom you would doubtless unload a few choice corner lots.

XI—AGRICULTURE.

Last, but greatest of all comes the industry of agriculture. Out of our population of 4,829,411—56 per cent, or 2,704,470, derive their living from our farms. This gives Canada considerably over half a million farmers. A comparison of the market reports of the similarly situated Canadian and American markets, reveals the deplorable fact, that our farmers only receive two-thirds of the price obtained by the American farmers, for the two-thirds of our agricultural products, for which our continent is the natural, and consequently the best market. Farmers, take your pencils and figure each for himself the amount you lose each year on account of being deprived of your rightful share of the markets of this continent. Recollect you not only lose on what you send to the States, but also on the same classes of your products when you sell them in Canada. We are safe in stating that \$2.00 per acre each year is a very moderate figure at which to average this loss. The number of acres under actual cultivation is on an average 50 acres to each Canadian farmer, making a total of 25 million acres. A loss of \$2.00 per acre means a loss to Canada each year of \$50,000,000 on the products of agriculture. Only Continental Union will permanently prevent this loss. Is not a Canadian farmer as much of a man as an American? Do not his labors deserve equal remuneration?

It having been proved that Continental Union will increase the happiness and prosperity of our homes, more than any other political policy, let Canadians, by all constitutional and peaceful means, promote its adoption; but only upon equal and honorable terms, and with the consent of Great Britain. Let us advocate it kindly but firmly and persistently.

SUCCESS IS INEVITABLE.



Continental Union.

—o—

Canadian reader, when considering this subject your mind
is paramountly influenced by one of three sentiments:

BRITISH PATRIOTISM ;

HATRED OF THE UNITED STATES, OR

CANADIAN PATRIOTISM

Please carefully classify yourself before proceeding.

—o—

BRITISH PATRIOTISM.

A ZOLLVEREIN OF THE BRITISH NATIONS IS DECLARED
HISTORY TO BE INEVITABLE.

—

A love of Unity and Freedom is characteristic of
British race.

Of all the nations of the world England has always led
the van of freedom. Scotland, whose heath a conqueror never
trod, united with England, Ireland and Wales in forming the
united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. On the union
of the races the isles prospered as no other European nation.

er has. The people multiplied, until the land could not contain their millions, then the restless and daring among them bid farewell to their homes and crossed the Atlantic. Britain, kind and generous, forgot for a moment the love of the free for freedom, and was rigorous with her transAtlantic offspring. The colonies, loving freedom as well as the parent, threw off the restraining hand. The spirit of unity still guiding our race prompted the thirteen colonies to unite in one people—the United States of Britons. Since then the rapidity and vastness of their prosperity has amazed the world. The motherland has not since attempted to infringe upon the liberties of her children.

Britain, had also other colonies transplanted world wide, whom the spirit of unity so prevailed, that they have renewed their allegiance to her even when to their financial injury. Six colonies of Britons dotted the coast of the continent Australia; the spirit of unity breathed upon them, and they are consolidating themselves into one Commonwealth—a name singularly appropriate. Seven small isolated provinces were scattered along 4,000 miles across America; in answer to the same call they became one Dominion. The history of our race is a record of amalgamations. We have seen they have been made on every possible occasion from the dawn of old Anglo-Saxon history to the union of our Dominion.

What do all these unions declare? Remember history repeats itself. We are the descendants in the characteristics of mind as well as in those of body, of the men who in times past consolidated weak clans and hostile tribes into a great nation, at whose warlike array Europe trembled. It is therefore evident to the student of history, that unless prevented, a great Zollverein of the Anglo-Saxons of the world will be formed with Britain, the old motherland in the center;—clustering round her will be her children,—the free British nations of the earth,—the greatest of which will be United North America.

Now, British patriot, in the interests of our race heed the call of unity, whose promptings have been the cause of our power and prosperity. This dominant family has only two divisions; Britain with her colonies, and the United States of America. The connecting link is Canada. Upon Canada rests the responsibility of creating between them constant discord or eternal peace. Under existing circumstances constant discord is declared by history to be inevitable. History is given

us for entertainment, instruction, and especially for warning. In all its ages and all its languages it reiterates the danger of man making two nations out of what the Almighty created to be one. One nation should include all those who live within the same great natural boundaries of mountains or oceans, who speak the one language, have the same faith, obey the same laws and are of the one blood. Canada and the United States were formerly one people, and are yet identical in all the requisites to be again one nation; even their laws are upon a common basis of the English laws; hence, in remaining apart they are breaking one of nature's laws. Penalties are invariably and wisely attached to the infraction of any of His great laws of nature. The penalty attached to the breaking of that law is jealousy with all its resultant evils. This is proved in every divided nation in every age. Let us confine ourselves to our own race and watch the effects. The history of the union of Scotland and the heptarchy of England is written in blood. Unions brought internal peace. On their consolidation into separate kingdoms, England no sooner waged war on the continent than Scotland crossed the borders. Pillage and bloodshed pointed out the track of her raiders. Then, England turning in her might devastated the lowlands of Scotland. Union conferred peace, good fellowship and prosperity. The war of 1812 was modeled upon the former history of our race. Britain was again at war in Europe, and the United States vainly attempted to wrest Canada from her. To-day jealousy resorts to war between the divided nation in America,—a war of tariffs, the next to bloodshed, and often culminating in bloodshed. Union will confer peace and plenty as in the past. Whoever aids in maintaining or fostering the jealousies between Canada and our relatives to the South, is guilty of attempting to injure both Canada and Britain; therefore he is not a patriot either to Canada, Old England, or his race, but a traitor to them all. This union of the Anglo-Saxon, first of America, and then, of the world is inevitable, because it is in accordance with the noblest characteristics of our race, and a fulfilment of one of His laws of nature.

Canada will soon attain her majority, and not remain under the guardianship of England, but become an independent nation. This will cause her to attain more of the distinctness of a separate nation, whereas now she is in a plastic condition. Our prosperity will in the meantime be retarded, consequently the union will be upon less advantageous terms and harder

of accomplishment. The union will not then furnish reasons for gratitude toward Britain on the part of either nation. Whereas now, if the union be effected, Canada will feel grateful to the mother who, to benefit her daughter, sanctioned her union with her prosperous relative. The United States will also feel grateful to the motherland for the further gift of Canada. The friendship between the Anglo-Saxons, whose shores are laved by the Atlantic, will then endure until time is no more.

British patriots, the advocates of Continental Union are in your ranks, and will advocate no policy that will not benefit England, Canada, and our race at large. The consideration of this policy will be laid at the foot of the British throne. Our beloved Queen and her wise councillors will decide upon it. When it receives their sanction and that of the parliaments of Canada and Britain and the Congress of America, then it must be loyal to adopt it. That it will be sanctioned is certain, for all the events of the past point in this direction. Why else did Britain in 1815 cede to the United States domain enough for an empire,—a strip 300 miles wide across America from ocean to ocean? Why else than to aid her child in her financial trouble did she give her \$15,500,000 at the close of the American war? Why has she in every treaty favored the United States,—except that, she considers the prosperous Republic as her well-beloved first-born, and that in benefiting her she, is entrusting to the hands of a wise guardian the heritage of the race in America, including that of Canada?

FINANCIAL BENEFITS TO BRITAIN.

The majority of our Canadian families are more nearly allied to the inhabitants of the United States than to those of Great Britain, yet Britain is the land we love best after Canada, though we pay nothing to her revenues,—the only bond of unity being amity and trade. Our purchases from the British islands are some \$40,000,000 annually, with a profit to Britons, personally unknown to us, of \$4,000,000, just a *ten cent piece* profit to each one of Britain's 40,000,000 inhabitants. British patriot, in this practical age be practical, and not a dreamer of antiquated phantasies, that are utterly devoid of any pecuniary value. Realize that only in proportion as a political policy enriches Canada, will it be in the power of Canada by her increased trade to financially benefit England. Canadians are

never niggards with their money. Only Continental Union, by increasing our numbers and purchasing power, can enable us to financially benefit Britain. This can only be done by an increase of legitimate trade, flowing in natural, not in forced, channels. The benefits the motherland obtains from Canada are solely derived from the profits she realizes on our purchases from her.

We cannot buy from Britain without money. But, some say, we send England cheese for example, and she does not pay us in money, but in manufactured goods. This is nonsense. Every president of a cheese factory knows that the cheese buyer never yet said:—"I will not buy your cheese unless you take dress goods in pay." No, he gave him a check on the Bank.

But to resume; Canada derives her money from what she sells; in other words, from the amount of cash she receives from the sale of her exports to Britain and America. Therefore, the increase of our trade with Britain depends upon adopting a policy that will cause us to obtain an increased amount of money from the total of our European and American exports, and which will also increase the number of our population, and Britain's customers. Continental Union will leave Canada upon the same footing as before, as regards the amount of money she will receive for her trans-Atlantic exports; and it will enable her to obtain a far larger amount of money from that half of her exports for which this continent is the best market. Consequently, British patriot, if you really desire to financially benefit Britain, advocate the political union of Canada and the United States, for this policy will, more than any other, increase our population and Britain's customers, and furnish all of them with more money with which to purchase British manufactures.

MILITARY ADVANTAGES TO BRITAIN.

Canada, by uniting her destiny with the United States, will abolish the many small, but none-the-less irritating causes of friction and war between Britain and America. It is an indisputable fact that these have in the past often caused serious alarm, and that in the event of war, Canada would be again the battle ground.

In the event of Continental Union, Britain, wise in naval affairs and powerful on the sea, will retain an island on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts for naval stations. To this America

will not object, for Britain is our parent. Who is afraid of unprovoked injury from his mother? Then, by allowing Britain the privilege of sending across our continent, men and freight, other than arms and munition, she will retain all her present military advantages.

The investigation of the causes of modern warfare is unspeakably sad, yet intensely interesting. Fear has been the principal cause of the recent wars on the Continent of Europe. Tyranny, afraid of the brave and the thinkers, has incited and compelled them to slaughter. Britain, reclining securely behind her ramparts of freemen, who beheaded and out-lawed her despots, need not aid the projects of foreign tyrants. The desire for the absorption of blacks and their landed property has been the direct or indirect cause of the modern wars of Britain.

Canada, a civilized agricultural country, existing in a thoughtful age, and far removed from the arenas of strife, must have an adequate and worthy motive, before she will arm her citizen soldiers to face death on foreign battle fields. Our Canada neither needs nor desires more blacks or their territory; therefore whether we be a colony, an independent nation, or affiliated with the Anglo-Saxons on this Continent, we will not as a nation, aid Britain in her foreign wars for territory. But Continental Union being consummated, if ever Britain, driven from her outposts, was receding with her troops across our Continent to defend her heart, we, the hardy sons of the North, would, to a man, spring to arms, and carrying the great Anglo-Saxon Confederacy with us, together pour out our blood and treasure like water, to defend our common mother,—dear old England. The Anglo-Saxons united are unconquerable and irresistible. Only internecine war can ever break their power.

The United States is now, and will be for centuries, the most powerful military nation on land in the world. Because, in addition to the splendid fighting material to be drawn from her immense population, she is also virtually in command of half of the warriors of Europe. Time, the wonder worker, will cause the pension list to fade away, but the centuries, as they roll by, will still proclaim the unparalled generosity of our Republican relatives to the armed citizens, who freed their fellow-men and saved their country. Europe is an armed camp filled with men whose trade is war, and whose highest ambition is military glory. The first tap of the war-drum on American soil will be answered by a million warriors in Europe. The re-

verberations of the first cannon will not have passed away before these men will be hastening to the States. They know, that upon entering the army they will be presented with an overflowing purse, which a lifetime of labor in Europe would not refill. While in the army, they will be sure of liberal treatment and deserved promotion. When disbanded, they will live a life of ease amid a grateful people. If they meet a soldier's fate, and fall with their faces to the foe, they will be wrapped in a mantle of glory, by an admiring nation; and their loved ones will be treasured in homes, to them, of luxury. This generosity of the United States, unparalleled in the history of the world, has also been an act of the deepest policy and most profound statesmanship, for it has made the warriors of the world their own, and the world knows it.

Fellow-citizens will you compare population statistics, and then you will realize that the Greater Britain is, even to-day, not in Europe, but in America. It is your duty as well as interest to promote the unity of feeling of the two great divisions of the Anglo-Saxon family,—Great Britain in Europe and the Greater Britain in America.

Continental Union is the first great and only practicable advance, towards forming an offensive and defensive alliance of this dominant race of the globe, whose moral and military power will guarantee perpetual peace to the world-wide, free nations of Britons. Therefore, British patriots, from a financial and military standpoint, advocate Continental Union; for, without lessening Britain's advantages, it will diminish the causes and probability of fratricidal war, guarantee the perpetuity of Britain's power, and by Canada's increased prosperity redound to her glory, as the mother, not of palid dwarfs, but of great, prosperous and filial nations.

II—HATER OF AMERICANS.

Perhaps you are more in favor of Continental Union than either the British or Canadian patriot. For, tell it not loudly, this is a policy of Spoilation. How else than by wresting from America men and money, and diverting them to Canada do we propose to benefit our Canadian homes?

Come, be practical in your hatred. If you have a neighbor you hate, and who entices away your sons, and you mutter vapid curses against him, you merely irritate yourself, without injuring your enemy. But, if by forming a partnership with

you can sell him stones, valueless to you, for good money; appropriate his boats and fish; get him to pay your crushing taxes, retain your sons; sell him corner lots at big prices; and let him agree not to intermeddle with your old homestead,—a provincial farm; you would welcome the partnership, because you would benefit yourself at his expense.

III.—CANADIAN PATRIOTISM.

Canadian patriot, with relief we turn to you. True patriotism, is love for the land in which we earn our bread; love for the land of which our bodies form a part; love for our homes and those therein sheltered; and actions that will ensure our homes of the present, and the future, happiness, peace and plenty. Canadians, actuated solely by these motives, let us be satisfied with no half measures, only with the full, immediate and permanent advantages offered by Continental union. Having the courage of our convictions, let us speak out our minds manfully.

Canadian patriots, you are the descendants, mentally and morally, of the old Gallic heroes, invincible Celts, indomitable Anglo-Saxons and fearless Norse Vikings, who in the olden times deified the attribute of courage. You are the off-spring of these men, who in later times, defending the right, faced heavy odds on many hard fought battle-fields. Knowing that you are the off-shoots of heroes, you will not permit yourselves to be trembling slaves of cowardice, but will intrepidly utter honest convictions in favor of the policy that will be the salvation of your Canada. Reason sanctions, and the love of your Canadian homes urges you to speak out the truth boldly. Like our pioneer forefathers you will hew to the line of rectitude, let the chips fall where they may. The off-shoots of heroes should not be slaves to cowardice.

Individually, to succeed in your private business, you are governed by hard practical common sense, and you spade a spade. Only the same course of action will ensure prosperity to a nation. If you desire your country to take a rightful position among the free nations of this Continent, must conduct the business of your nation on a thoroughly business basis, not striving against the inevitable, but seizing every passing advantage.

Many believe that if our "Chieftain" were with us, he shrewdly scan the political horizon, seize the right mo-

ment, and, bowing gracefully to the inevitable, convoy his with flying colors into the harbor of safety and plenty.

Continental union being accomplished, our feeling of towards Britain will be increased, for Canada will feel grateful to the mother who, to benefit her daughter, sanctioned her union with her big and prosperous relative. And this ing of amity, which will always exist in Canada, and has always existed in the Southern States, will permeate the whole of Great Confederacy. Then America, the Greater Britain, holding out the right hand of friendship to the Anglo-Saxon Europe, and stretching out the left hand to those in Austria will march forward in the van of peace and civilization,

IMPERIAL FEDERATION



IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT AND ITS FOREIGN POLICY



Imperial Federation is the military consolidation of Great Britain and her Colonies into one empire.

Canada now possesses every right and characteristic of a separate nation, except the untrammelled power to make foreign treaties. Therefore, she could gain no new power or liberty through federation. The people of Canada now complain of being too expensively governed. Federation would add to the rulers and the expenses. The tendency now is to centralize the power and money in the higher governments, instead of allowing each province to exercise full Legislative and Executive powers over its internal affairs, and to receive and expend the bulk of the funds contributed by its inhabitants. The tendency of Federation would be to increase centralization.

In proportion to the variation from the universal basis of representation, according to population in the Imperial Parliament,

it, so the government would be more or less an oligarchy. All archies are from their very construction unjust,—consequently unsatisfactory and transient. The majority in the British Empire are blacks, the ratio being about six blacks to one white. All men, both black and white, have equal political rights. That this is true has been demonstrated beyond all controversy. In the United States it cost, however, one million dollars and nine thousand millions of money to prove it. Canada has no desire to invest in this problem. Consequently, either the fundamental principle of Imperial federation is unjust, or the whites, being out numbered six to one, will be the political enemies of the blacks. Free Canada does not wish to be affiliated with an empire the great majority of which are blacks, and consequently retrograde in the history of this continent, either politically enslaving blacks, or being enslaved by them. Neither has Canada any interest in Britain's foreign policy. Canada has more territory than we can utilize and have no need or desire to acquire more, consequently in no event will we aid Britain with men and money in her wars, for the purpose of absorbing more blacks and their territory, into the Empire. These wars would shed no glory upon Canada, and be of no appreciable financial benefit to her. One citizen of the neighboring republic buys more than a dozen Asiatics and Africans. The whites with whom we wish to deal, there are more in the United States than in all the British Empire. Considering the relative populations of blacks and whites in the British Empire and the United States, the ratio is 40 blacks in the Empire to one black in the States.

Do you, my reader, the child of a white mother, prefer to be a part of an empire, essentially black? If you do, then by all means, advocate Imperial Federation.

The Imperial Federalists propose that the expenses of the Empire of Britain and the support, in men and money, of the British army and navy be borne *pro rata* by all the nations of the confederation. They propose to minimize the representation of the blacks in the imperial Parliament. Consequently; the representatives of the British Isles, being the majority, would be able to declare war whenever it suited the sole interests of the Empire. Canada would have the silent privilege of paying her share of Britain's foreign war expenses.

As Canada would demur against this the Canadian Federation offer as a compensation to her the commercial advantages of her foreign policy, which however, are, in reality, only a great in-

jury to both Britain and Canada.

The commercial policy of the Canadian Federalists been declared to be impracticable by the Federalists of Britain and Australia, and is not sanctioned by them. However, we will investigate it.

RESULTS TO BRITAIN.

The Imperial Federalists of Canada propose that there be no duty on goods going from one component part of the empire to another, but duties against all outsiders.

Britain could not agree to this. This policy would strike at the root of her greatness, which consists in being mistress of the sea—the carrier and trader of the commerce of the world. The world's goods enter England free of duty. Consequently, England is the world's store house, and the universal market both for buying and selling, and her ships have the carriage of the goods of the globe. Circumscribe her free trade, and her greatness vanishes.

The people of Britain know this policy would increase the price of their food and cause great suffering among the millions of her poor, who are now only a few meals from starvation. Bread! Bread! has been the constant demand of the poor from the time of the Roman *panes*, and the French Revolution to the present day. Britain, powerful and wealthy though she be, knows full well she dare not arouse this cry of despair.

The factories of England, employing 23 per cent. of the population, hold the balance of power in their hands and, through their Unions, virtually govern Britain. Bread is a constituent part of the cost of manufacturing. Therefore increasing the cost of food would cause an increase in the cost of manufacturing. This would injure Britain in the keen competition she has to meet in the markets of the world. This would injure Britain more than her colonies benefit her. The people of England rather than agree to pay more for their food and be obliged to charge more for their goods, would let the colonies go. They now state they will not pamper the colonies in order to retain their allegiance.

Judging the future from the past, this commercial policy will never be adopted. The CORN-LAWS were passed over 150 years ago and for all time in the history of Britain. She cannot retrograde. England has not since, and dare not now discriminate in her tariffs in favor of even her own food producers,—much less

favor of ours.

RESULTS TO CANADA.

Even if the proposed policy of the Canadian Imperial Federalists were carried into effect, it would not result in any appreciable advantage to Canadians on the exports to Britain. If the duties were so arranged in favor of Canadian food exports that we realized an advance of 10 per cent on the \$20,000,000 worth of food we send to Britain, it would amount to \$2,000,000. Just an increased profit of fifty cents a piece to Canadians. This famine tainted half-dollar would be blood money, carrying a curse with it. What Canadian would desire to obtain his solitary half-dollar, wrung from the hunger of the children of the poor in Britain?

The policy of the Canadian Imperial Federalist, instead of being a financial benefit to Canada, would be a serious injury. Granted that we obtain 10 p. c. advance on our exports to Britain, we would have to pay 10 per cent. advance on the price of our English imports. On account of the extra price of food it would be necessary for the English manufacturers, in order to recoup themselves, to charge 10 per cent. advance on former prices. As British goods would pay no duties on entering Canada, English manufacturers could and would charge us within a trifle of the price that other foreign goods, which paid duty, cost laid down in Canada, and yet be able to retain our custom. Therefore, British goods would cost us in our stores nearly the same prices as before Federation.

The loss will now appear. The money obtained from the present duties furnishes a large part of our revenue. Under Federation the duties on British imports would be cut off. An increased revenue, in the event of Federation, would require to be raised, for in addition to our present expenditure, there would be our proportion of the expenditure of the Empire. Hence, we would be compelled to raise by direct taxation or other means, a larger amount than our present duty on imports from Great Britain, in order to make good this deficiency in the revenue. So our loss by this policy would be an amount equal to the present duty on British imports, plus our proportion of the Imperial expenditure. All the present numerous custom houses would be retained, and the expenses of many would exceed the duties collected.

The consequences to Canada of this policy would be as disastrous as to Great Britain. Allowing British goods to enter Canada free of duty would increase smuggling all along the 4,000 miles of the American border line. The bitterest of feelings would ensue between the Canadian and American Governments. The United States, possessing the products of every clime, does not require any Canadian products. The American Government could enforce a double prohibitory tariff—both import and ex-

port. Canada along 4,000 miles would be boycotted. Our two great R. R's. have both their head and feet on American soil. These would be amputated. Our population now deserts us at the rate of 300 daily. Food would be dearer in Canada than in the United States. The exodus would increase to a 1000 daily. The few who remained would supplicate for Annexation upon any terms. Rancor would exact an unconditional surrender..

Away with such a policy as Imperial Federation. Canada wants none of it. We desire no policy that will injure either ourselves or Great Britain. Canadians can make money without being under compliments to any nation. We will not make it, by extracting it from the hungry of our kind in Europe.

All we ask is a fair field and no favors. A fair field we never have had. Our hands have been tied to Europe and by Europe, so that we have not had free interchange with the great nations, our relatives in North America. Let us once be free handed and inside the ring of free nations on our continent and they will have to look to their laurels. We will equal if not surpass the best of them. Physically we are their superior. Mentally, more enduring. Ask the employers of brain and muscle in the Western states if they do not select their employees in accordance with this proven fact?

Let Canadians, while their country is yet solvent, propose union upon equal terms with the other free nations of the great American Confederacy. Their commerce stands now upon the same footing in Europe as ours. Therefore, by Continental Union, Canada will not lose any advantage in the European markets, but gain those of America, which are of more importance to her. America is the only market for many of our products.

If it were necessary for Canada to choose between being totally bebarred from Europe or America, and it were left solely to her monetary interests to decide, the verdict would be in favor of having America as a free market, because the additional population that free trade with the United States would employ in our mines, forests and lakes, would consume more than our present exports to Britain. But the time for this decision will never come. Canada does not intend to enter into political union with the United States without the consent of Britain.

Under Continental Union, Canada will still be as loyal to Britain as ever. If remaining at home, where he was no assistance, caused a son to be poor in blood and pocket, would the son love the father less, because he allowed him to accept a remunerative, healthful and honorable position with his relatives? Canadians, in the interests of Britain, of Canada, and of our race, advocate the policy that injures none and benefits all—Continental Union.

TO THE CANADIAN FARMERS

FACTS AND FIGURES CONCERNING AGRICULTURE THAT ARE
WORTHY OF CONSIDERATION.

The farmers of Canada deserve equal chances for prosperity with those in the States. *These they have never had.*

In order to illustrate this, permit it to be supposed, kind reader, that the writer and yourself are two farmers who live on opposite sides of the same town line. You are the Canadian farmer and live on the north side of the town line, in a township called Canada. I am the American farmer and live on south side in another township called the States. Personally, you and I are good friends, but the two township councils, for their own selfish private interests, are often unfriendly. You and I send our wheat and cattle to a distant market called Britain, where there is great competition. There we both get the same prices, neither of us having to pay any market dues. Let us then suppose, that the best place at which to sell our barley and lambs is at a market in my township called the American market. I can sell there at full price without paying any market dues. But, when you drive on the American market your barley and lambs, are charged market dues that come to a third of their value. Your produce is charged these dues because you live on the north side of the town line. The buyers come, pay the market dues, and give you two-thirds of the price obtained.

These being the circumstances, would you consider, Canadian farmer, that you realize as much for your labor as I, the American farmer, do for mine? Could you make as much money from your farm as I? Do not these market dues benefit the American township at your expense? Would a reduction in the market dues satisfy you? Would you not be afraid that the next quarrel between the two township councils would result in the market dues being raised higher than ever? The union of the townships would cause you and I to stand on the same footing in the markets of both Britain and America, either one of us paying market dues in either place. Would anything else than this union satisfy you? Would not the

ratepayers in your township elect councillors who would favour this union of the townships? If this is the wisest course adopt in township affairs, it is also in national affairs. Continental Union will give the Canadian farmer equal advantage with the American. It would be the duty of the ratepayers of a township to advocate a political policy which would benefit their township alone. If the same policy would benefit all the thousand townships of a country, its benefits are a thousand fold. Therefore, the duty of the patriots of that country, to advocate this policy, is a thousand times greater than the similar obligation resting upon the ratepayers, of a single township which would be benefited by a local policy.

The Canadian farmer may prove to his satisfaction that he is the loser on account of, and to just the amount of the American duty on his produce that goes to the States. The method to pursue would be as follows:—Let him find out the place at which his produce enters the States, or the name of the place in the States the nearest to his residence where the same class of produce is raised. Then, get a newspaper from there, that contains the prices that are obtained by the American farmer in that locality. Let the Canadian farmer then compare prices and he will know that he has paid the freight and duty. The freight he ought to pay, but he has been defrauded out of the duty by continental isolation, perpetuated by selfish politicians. Continental Union is the only logical and permanent remedy for continental isolation.

Now, for some hard reliable facts, regarding the product of our farms. The following statistics are taken from the Statistical year books of Canada for 1889, 1890 and 1891, published by the Department of Agriculture, and printed by the Government Printing Bureau at Ottawa. These books are the highest official documents of statistics that are published by our Dominion, and they are especially intended for the guidance of our Parliaments:

BARLEY.

Exported from Canada to

	United States	Britain
1889	\$ 6,454,603.....	\$ 3,881
1890	4,582,563.....	12,011
1891	2,849,269.....	75,221

Statistics prove that the greater part of this barley was the product of Ontario. The farmers of this province will observe with sorrow, that the difference, between the total amounts for

exports of barley in 1891 and 1889, was \$3,500,000. This is chiefly owing to the McKinley Bill, which caused less barley to be sown, and a far lower price to be obtained for it. Therefore, taking off the duty entirely, would cause more barley to be raised, and the price to be far higher.

Belleville is the principal market for barley, in the Bay of Quinte district. The average price there, was in 1889, 75 cents in 1892, 40 cents. But a sailing vessel would in a few hours cross the lake to Oswego, where the price was in 1892, 75 cts. Therefore, continental isolation prevents the Canadian farmer from obtaining the same price for his barley, that is received by the farmer in N. Y. State for barley, which is on the average inferior. Is it not strange that this is true at the close of the nineteenth century, when all men consider they are free and equal, and are entitled to equal remuneration for similar labor?

In 1891, notwithstanding the American duty of 30 cents a bushel, the greater portion of our barley was bought by the United States. This proves that the unspeakably detestable "Anker" is yet willing to pay us 30 cents more a bushel for Canadian barley, than the malster or stockman of "Dear old England." It seems that business is devoid of sentiment, and knows no friendships.

When Canadian farmers could get 30 cents a bushel more for their barley, and do not use the means to obtain it, does it prove that they are more loyal to strangers in Britain, than they are to the loved ones sheltered within their own homes?

Neither British nor American farmers would thus allow themselves to be enslaved by prejudice and robbed by politicians.

WHEAT.

Exported by Canada to

United States.	Britain
\$ 26,591.....	\$ 439,863
6,589.....	379,893
613,390.....	969,134

In comparing the yield of wheat for 1891, with that of any previous year, we must recollect that in this year, many thousands of acres of virgin prairie in Manitoba and the North-west Territories, were for the first time sown with wheat. Almost all of the wheat exported in 1891 from Canada to Britain was grown in the North West. This remark also applies to the rest of the years that succeed 1891.

The farmers of Manitoba desire to obtain a large immigration immediately, and not after all the present generation is dead. An increased population means to them, better roads and bridges; larger home markets; more schools, churches and temples; and all this with a reduced taxation. They also desire to purchase their machinery and other manufactures of iron at the prices paid in the States which are from 25 to 50 per cent cheaper. They especially wish a reduction on the present freight on wheat. The map of North America furnishes the solution of the question: "How to send the Manitoba wheat to Europe at the lowest possible freight rates." The wheat should be sent by rail only as far as the head of navigation, and the water highways should be opened up, so that the ocean steamers could load at Port Arthur, and sail without breaking bulk direct to Europe. Continental Union will furnish Manitoba with the immigration and lower the prices of freight and machinery, and no other policy will do this. Canada cannot afford to open up the water highway and the Republic will not do it, when it does not benefit the St. Lawrence. But union will cause the great and wealthy confederacy for the sake of all the north half of this continent to develop to the fullest extent, the water highways of the great lakes and the St. Lawrence river and thus transform all the ports of the great lakes into ocean ports. The advantages to be derived from this are incalculable.

When the Ontario farmer heard that the McKinley tariff would lower the price of his barley, he sowed less barley and more wheat, believing that Britain would purchase his wheat and so enable him to realize as much as ever from his land. But in this he was woefully mistaken. For it will be observed with surprise, that while the exports of wheat to the United States were in 1890 only \$6,000, they were in 1891 two-thirds of a million dollars, which means about one million bushels of wheat. This was principally the wheat grown by the unfortunate Ontario farmer, which Britain had absolutely refused to buy, unless she could purchase it for cattle and hog feed, at the same price she had paid for his barley. The consequence was that the Ontario farmer was obliged to sell it to the American at ruinously low prices. This was because continental union imposed a duty of 25 cents a bushel on his wheat, but it could have access to the markets of its own continent. The greater part of this Ontario wheat was ground with American Western wheat in the Eastern States, and consumed there, chiefly by exiles from the Province of Quebec, who were now of

s in the factories of the New England States. This shows how inseparable are our business connections with the United States, and how our American cousins extricate us out of a difficulty, when our unfounded faith in the markets of Britain misled us.

Let us now ascertain the total loss on barley and wheat together, that the McKinley Bill caused to the Ontario farmers in 1891 compared with 1889. You recollect they expected the increased amount of money they would receive from their wheat would compensate them for the loss on the barley. Take your pencil and add together all the barley money of 1889, and that portion of the wheat money which was exported in 1889 to the United States. Then separately add together all the barley money of 1891, and that portion of the wheat money which was exported in 1891 to the United States, which was the soft wheat of Ontario. Subtract the total of 1891 from that of 1889 and over \$3,000,000 is before you. This loss to the Ontario farmers on the total of their barley and wheat of \$3,000,000 was caused by the bill closing the door through which the trade passes between Canada and the States, a little tighter. Will you then estimate how much they would gain on the total receipts from the exports of their barley and wheat, if Continental Union took the commerce excluding door off its hinges, and broke it up, so that it could never be rehung. Would it not be at least \$5,000,000 annually?

Get a Canadian year-book from your Dominion member of Parliament, and see for yourself that these startling figures are correct.

WHEAT CROP OF THE WORLD, 1891.

United States.....	612	million bushels
British India.....	255	" "
Russia.....	169	" "
Australia.....	167	" "
Canada.....	61	" "
Argentine Republic.....	33	" "
France.....	33	" "

But, compare, with surprise:—

Great Britain bought in 1891 from		
United States.....	62½	million bushels
Russia.....	36½	" "
British India.....	17	" "
Australia.....	9	" "

Australia.....	6	"	70
Argentine Republic.....	5	"	t
Canada	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	n
Germany.....	4	"	5
Austria.....	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	D

Did you think Romania sold Britain twice as much wheat as Canada?

CHEESE.

But some say, if the Americans sell Britain 14 bushels wheat for Canada's one, Canada sells Britain 106 million lbs. cheese, while the States only sell her 87 million lbs., and average Canadian cheese is superior to the American. This is the reason: No cheese made after Sept. 15th each year is sent out of the United States. The fall cheese, which are best, are eaten in the Republic, and only the spring and summer cheese are sent to England. Besides, the majority of the factories in some of the Western States never send a pound of cheese to Britain; their cheese is sent to the Southern and South Eastern States. Canada, as a nation, sells her cheese, not it because her children can not afford to eat it? The people of the United States are numerous and wealthy enough to eat the bulk of their cheese. Only a small proportion of the American cheese is sent across the ocean; the best remains in the States because the Americans pay far better prices for choice fall cheese than the British. Thus, Canada loses heavily on her cheese through being deprived of her share of the markets of her continent. The loss to the Canadian farmers on their cheese, on account of not being able to sell them in the United States, is over a million dollars annually.

In fact, continuing to imagine that Canada is a part of Europe, and not of America, costs each Canadian farmer yearly on an average \$300,00. He gains nothing, absolutely nothing in recompense. His allegiance to Britain does not gain for him even favorable consideration. When he visits Britain, to his astonishment, he realizes that an American citizen is more highly esteemed there than a Canadian. A Canadian they consider is only a colonist, living in a dependent colony that hangs onto England's apron. Whereas an American is a free citizen of one of the greatest nations of the world, and they know that he may some day be the President of the great Republic and thus the equal of the Queen of England herself. On the continent of Europe the respect for an American citizen is great yet. A wealthy American, on registering at a hotel in G

any as "John I. King, of Chicago, U. S. A.," was addressed by the obsequious landlord as "Your Majesty, John the First, King of Chicago."

CATTLE

The farmers in Canada, east of Toronto, lose on both their milk and fat cattle, on account of not having free access to the markets of the neighboring States. Beef and stock cattle are always higher in the eastern part of New York State than in the adjacent parts of Ontario. Quebec and the Eastern Provinces lose largely on their cattle by being excluded from the dense manufacturing districts of the adjacent New England States. Therefore, the eastern part of Canada suffers serious financial injury in the cattle trade by continental isolation. This exclusion from the markets of our continent, results from our political connection with Britain.

Cattle, sheep and horse dealers try to ship when the market is on the rise, Britain being distant, the price there has time in which to fall before the stock arrives. Consequently, very few Canadian dealers, who continuously shipped to England, have eventually realized much, if anything, from their business. Whereas the dealers can place their stock upon the American markets, in nearly as many hours as it takes days to go to England; consequently, the markets there are surer, and more of the shippers to the States have accumulated wealth.

An American farmer has the choice of markets. He can sell, without paying duty, either to the 65 millions at home or the 40 millions in Britain—a total of about 105 millions. The Canadian farmer has his 5 millions in Canada and the 40 millions in Britain—a total of about 45 millions. Therefore, the market of the Canadian farmer is not half as large, as that of the farmer in the States.

The Canadian lives in hopes of having a larger population in Canada to supply. This generation will never see 65 millions living in Canada. Why not accept the immediate opportunity, of supplying the 65 millions at home next door, on our continent? For many products the American market is better than British, because an American, when he is thoroughly satisfied with an article, will pay a higher price than a man of any other nationality.

To come to facts, a sensible farmer likes to sell where he can sell the best. His own prosperity is of more importance to him, than either or both of the political parties of the day; it does not put any money in or out of his pocket, whether the head man in the country, is called the president, or the

Governor-General, and that is about all the real difference there is between the Canadian and American Governments.

SHEEP.

In 1892, the United States bought from Canada, 290 sheep and lambs, whereas Britain purchased only 32,000 f. us. The American duty on sheep is \$1.50, and on lambs cents each. Figure for yourself, how many more sheep lambs Canada would raise, and how much more money would receive for them, if political union took down forever American tariff sheep barriers.

Canada has immense areas of unoccupied land, specially adapted for sheep culture. Near and profitable markets would cause these hills to be covered with flocks, tended by experienced shepherds. Sheep raising would develop into one of the great and most profitable industries, and we would count an annual export of sheep and lambs, not by thousands but millions.

The mutton of the Scottish sheep is more finely flavored than the English. The same is true as regards Canadian mutton, when compared with the American. Our American neighbors earn and spend more money than any European nation, and willingly pay a good price for a savory dish, to tempt the epicurean tastes. Therefore, the Canadian mutton will always command ready sales at highly remunerative prices, in the United States. Canadians, it will pay you well to take down and grind to powder, the American tariff walls and sheep barriers.

HORSES.

Since Confederation, Canada has exported 340,000 horses of that number the United States bought 325,000. The Canadian farmers made the wealthy Republic a present of \$7,000,000 in duties, for the privilege of selling these horses, in whose the above figures conclusively prove to be our best and most natural horse market. No matter what the politicians may say, the farmer does not relish the duty of \$30 on a common horse that is imposed by the McKinley Bill. For that matter, he does not relish any duty on any product of his farm. By merely observing his own common-sense actions in his stable, any intelligent farmer can learn how to avoid having the price of his farm produce reduced, by an American tariff. When he perceives one of his horses is about to kick, if he cannot get out of the reach of injury altogether, he simply springs so close to the horse that no ill effects can result. Continental union will bring the Canadian farmer so close to the United States that

It will be impossible for any American tariff to hurt him. Horse raising is in favor of Continental Union. It is to your interest to vote for the union of Canada and the States.

Many farmers have wondered, why the British Government did not purchase Canadian horses for the army, when they are suitable for many army purposes, and we are willing to sell them so cheap. Here is the real reason:—The English horse breeders objected so vehemently, that the British Government dared not buy them. You can ascertain this to be an indisputable fact, by reading page 297 of the Canadian year-book for 1891. In the item of horses alone, so called loyalty to European power has cost the farmers of Canada \$7,000,000, and this large sum did not come out of the official class, who are loyal to their fat salaries, but it was wrung from the toil of the hard working farmers—the tax payers of this country, not the tax eaters. And yet, when the opportunity offered, they were debarred from selling their horses to the Government for which they had sacrificed \$7,000,000 on this very product of their farms. This proves that when the interests of the British farmer, clash with those of the Canadian farmer, the colonist goes to the wall every time. This also shows that the farmers of Canada are less loyal to themselves, than the farmers of Britain, who practise one of the first principles of business, which is to specially regard their own interests. The British farmers tell the Canadian farmers, by action which speak far louder than words, to look out for their own interests, for they determined to look out for theirs.

It is high time for the farmers of Canada to enquire and care for themselves, which policy will best serve their own interests, and the interests of those dependent upon them. The majority of the voters in Canada are farmers, therefore, when a farmer advocates the policy that he knows will enrich himself personally, he is also promoting the prosperity of his country.

EGGS.

Exported by Canada to

United States.	Britain.
1890 \$2,156,725.....	\$ 18
1891 1,793,104.....	820
1892 1,074,247.....	83,589
1893 494,409.....	592,218

You will observe that Canada received twice as much money for her export of eggs in 1889 as she did in either 1891 or 1892. This loss was caused by the Americans refusing to al-

low the Canadian eggs to come into the United States free duty. How dependent Canada is upon the good will of the United States for a market for half of her farm products. British allegiance does not bestow upon us a single favor in British markets; her markets are as open and as favorable to Japan as to Canada.

The egg statistics show that Britain stopped short of the way, and did not come fully to the rescue of even our hens, when the McKinley hawk frightened them. British allegiance cost the women of Canada in both 1891 and 1892 one million dollars each year on their egg money, for the McKinley Bill did not charge a duty of 5 cents a dozen on the price of eggs laid by American hens in the United States. The American hen pays best. Ladies, you had better change the breed of your hens, and then you will get twice as much money for your eggs. The only way to get this extra pocket money, is by advising your husbands to vote for the union of Canada and the States.

HAY.

Exported by Canada to

United States.	Britain.
1889 \$822,381.....	\$ 84,
1890 922,797.....	109,
1891 375,813.....	150,
1892 598,567.....	167,

When the McKinley Bill was passed the politicians fully promised that Britain would come to the aid of Canada and buy all our hay. "Never mind the Americans," they said, "Britain will take all our hay and pay us good prices." That was impossible—any school boy could give the reason. Along one half of our boundary line, he could throw a stone from Canada into the States. Whereas 3,000 miles of the expanse of the Atlantic intervene between Canada and Britain.

It is impossible to ship our cheap and bulky farm products to the British markets, and be able to realize a remunerative price, because the heavy ocean freights cut the Canadian price down to almost nothing. Therefore, Canadians preferred to pay the excessive American duty, and ship the bulk of their hay to the adjacent markets of our continent, as is proven by the above statistics. The freight across our great lakes averages one dollar a ton for pressed hay, and the price of hay has often been \$5.00 higher on the American side of the lakes, and rarely ever less than \$3.00 higher. The prices for Canadian hay at New York and Liverpool do not generally differ very much. The freight from Canada to Liverpool is stated, by the

Weekly Mail of Feb. 2nd, 1893, to be \$13.50 per ton for pressed hay. While from Ontario and Quebec to New York it is from \$1 to \$1.50 a ton. Our Quebec farmers receive about \$4.00 a ton for the hay that is sent to England. This pays them low wages for their work, and nothing for their hay.

Strange as it may sound to Canadians, even our best clover hay is not a favorite in England. Their climate, method of cultivation and variety of seed are all different, consequently the hay is different, they appreciate their own article more most, and will not pay full prices for our hay. Whereas, there being no appreciable difference between the hay grown in Canada and the Northern States, our hay, when of good quality, commands good prices in New York City.

Fifty car loads of pressed hay, bought at \$6.00 a ton, were shipped during Nov. and Dec., 1892, from Napanee station to New York city, where the price was then from \$17.00 to \$20.00, according to quality. The duty was \$1.00, the freight was \$3.50 per ton, giving a profit to the dealer of from \$4.50 to \$5.50 a ton. Under Continental Union the farmers would have received the present price \$6.00 plus the duty \$1.00, which equals \$7.00, and it pays no farmer to sell a ton of hay for less. Only dire necessity compelled the industrious Napanee farmers to accept \$6.00 for hay that was worth at least \$10.00 to them to feed up on their farms. Agriculturists, advocate the policy that pays \$10.00 instead of \$6.00 for farm produce.

COMMON-SENSE ARGUMENTS.

We depend upon the American market for the sale of those of our products that Britain does not need, or can buy more cheaply elsewhere. Canada has never been under any commitments to Britain. Seeming compliments invariably coincided with her selfish interests, and if her interests had so dictated, would have been granted as readily to Madagascar as to Canada. Anything and everything of equal value sent from Russia, Canada or the United States, command exactly the same prices in the British markets. Continental Union would leave our ports to Britain upon exactly the same footing as before, and would open up freely, fully and permanently the American markets, which are by far the best for some of our agricultural products.

The politicians tell the Canadians that the farmers in the States are not as well off as those in Canada; therefore, they say that political union will not benefit Canadians. We need to collect that in order to make fair comparisons it is necessary to compare parts of each country, that are equal in date of

Canadian farmers, the remedy for the disadvantages under which your labor is in your hands to apply or not as you see fit.

No man can be more diligent or exercise more shrewdness and common sense in his private and local affairs than the Canadian agriculturist. This is shown by his comparative prosperity, even when deprived of a free market for the American part of his farm produce, and by the decided ability displayed by Canadian farmers in the management of the business of our country. The great majority of the noted men of our continent, including all the ablest presidents of colleges, railroads, and the great Republic, have been the sons of farmers.

The majority of the voters of Canada are engaged in agricultural pursuits. This being the case, the majority of the members of our parliaments ought to be farmers—men who would exercise the same diligence and common-sense in the interests of agriculture in the Provincial and Dominion Halls that they do in private and local affairs. Canada has to-day among her farmers, patriotic men who are intelligent, well informed, and possessed of great practicable ability. Farmers possessing these qualities have, in all ages of the world, been the men who conferred the greatest benefits upon their countries. Who was a Hampden, the great champion of English liberty, the best man of his age? He was an intelligent farmer. Hear the words of another farmer, also of English extraction, who, on resigning the position of Commander-in-chief of his nation, said:—"I commend the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them, to His holy keeping." These were the words of William Pitt, who was first a farmer, then a great general, then the greatest statesman the British nation has produced, and then a farmer. Would not farmers like these manage the business of our nation as well as those glib speakers we send to the legislative halls?

The farmers of Canada have sent men to Parliament who, in their callings in life were not in sympathy with the great industry of Canada—agriculture. These men have usurped authority, and have become the rulers, instead of the servants of the country, and forced policies upon us that have assisted in causing the present financial depression. Has the time not come when the farmers—the back-bone of Canada—will send men to Parliament who will not attempt to rule their fellow citizens, but to faithfully represent them and their interests? Farmers, the destiny of Canada, for weal or woe, is in your hands!

Some object to a union with the States on the ground of morality. Many of these objectors have valid reasons, but if they had lived in the States instead of in Canada, they would have been, before now, imprisoned on account of boodling and general rascality. Others, who are really good people, shut their eyes to the crimes committed in Canada, point with horror to those committed in the States, and object to the union. This class have never made a study of States' right law, for if they had, they would know that each State legislates its own criminal and marriage laws, commands the executive power to enforce obedience to them and to punish the criminals who violate them. This would place greater power than ever in the hands of each province to further the interests of morality. Canada would cease to be a dumping ground for the immoral refuse of Britain, and would naturally attract the thrifty and moral migrants of Britain and Northern Europe. Morality is greatly a question of climate, therefore Canada will always be, as regards morality, the Britain and Scandinavia of America.

The respected clergy of Canada must admit that Continental Union would give an immense *impetus* to the cause of religion. The wealthier portion of every one of our Christian denominations is in the Republic. This policy will also enrich the Canadian churches. Christianity in Canada needs wealth, because, it is the comparatively heavy direct and indirect taxation of our churches, that is chiefly causing them to rapidly lose their grasp upon the masses. The best theologians, colleges, the ablest teachers, and the most brilliant and profound thinkers, of all these denominations, are in the States. Therefore, the complete union, which would be caused by political union, of the weaker portions of these denominations in Canada with the abler and stronger in the United States, means increased strength to the cause of religion in Canada. We need this wealth, this infusion of new blood, and this union of the Christians of this continent, in order to oppose the common enemy of infidelity, who now preaches to the half a million in Canada who are at the present time practically outside the churches.

No well grounded arguments can be advanced against Continental Union. It is not disloyal; because the consent of Britain will first be obtained before it will be adopted by Canada. Only lawful, constitutional and peaceful means will be made use of by its advocates to influence the Canadian voters. The voters of Canada when convinced of its benefits, will elect members of Parliament who favor it. When its advocates are in the majority in our Parliaments, Canada will request the Queen and

Parliaments to sanction the reunion of the Anglo-Saxons of North America. When it receives their consent, the man will be disloyal who opposes Continental Union by any unconstitutional means. As the advocates of this policy will from first to last act constitutionally, they can never be disloyal.

Neither will its adoption cause Canada to receive one dollar less for her trans-Atlantic exports. The products of all the world now command the same prices in the British markets. When Canada receives the consent of Britain to her alliance with the other Britons of this continent, our products will still command the same prices in the British markets as those of the rest of the world. As regards the advantages of this policy to our great industry of agriculture, no farmer needs to be informed who has lambs or barley to sell—or cotton, coal oil or machinery to buy. The prosperity of Canada depends almost solely on the prosperity of the agricultural population. Hence each individual farmer by advocating a policy which he knows will benefit himself, is also aiding his country. Every intelligent man knows that free access to all the markets of this continent will benefit him. Continental Union will bestow this freely and perpetually and no other policy will do this.

This policy will also effect an immense saving in the expenses of running our governments. Over one half of our members of Parliament and custom officials will be dismissed. They may therefore expect that some of these parties will be opposed to this policy. It is amusing to notice that the violence of opposition is generally in exact proportion to the fatness of their purses. By first ascertaining the amount of the salary or perquisites of any of these gentlemen, we can easily estimate the strength of his opposition to political union, without the trouble of crushing his speech.

Some Canadian politicians, about election time, promise that if they are elected, they will give the farmers free trade with the United States. Do not believe them. They cannot keep this promise, and they know it. Canadian farmers change sides with an American statesman. Imagine yourself an American patriot, honestly desiring to benefit the United States, having no desire to benefit any other country in the world. Consider yourself as feeling responsible for the prosperity of millions of your fellow citizens with all their eyes upon your actions. Picture the Great Republic, containing every wealth and the product of every clime, thus forming itself an independent world—independent alike of Canada with its 5 millions on the north, and Mexico with its 10

millions on the south-west. Would you, as an American patriot, extend to alien Canada, often disagreeable Canada, any advantage at the expense of the United States? Now hear the truth. The power to grant or refuse reciprocity is vested solely in the statesmen of the great Republic. Their actions in this matter will be entirely governed by the interests of the United States, without any reference whatever to those of Canada. This is common sense.

Come, let us go to little children and learn the policy of the United States towards Canada. Fourteen little children were isolated in a new settlement called America. Thirteen little children built a playhouse and merrily gathered their toothsome morsels within it. One peevish child, with covetous eyes, had stood aloof throughout. "Give me," said she, "a share of your treasures, and I will run away with them and enjoy them all by myself." Those who are inside desire their cousin to join them. Now, what will they say? Will it not be in substance this:—"If we did not wish you to come in, we might out of good nature give you a part. But we know if we share with you while you stand outside, you will have gained all that entices you to enter, so you will not come into our playhouse. Therefore, you will get no favors from us until you join us, and then we will generously share equally with you." Credit the Americans with knowing as much as a child six years old.

They desire us to come into their union. We desire financial benefits to be derived from free access to their markets. This is the bait with which to allure Canada to join them they know it. They also know that if they give us their markets, free of duty, we will have acquired from them all we desire; consequently we will not join their union. They withhold these benefits from us, retaining them for their own people, who are the only ones justly entitled to them. When we join them they will share with us but not before.

But some, not yet convinced, say:—Canada once had reciprocity with the United States, therefore, she will be able to do it again. To this special part of the subject the writer has given great attention, and he has good reasons for making the following statement:—The principal statesmen of the United States have no sincere intention to hereafter negotiate any reciprocal treaty with Canada that will be appreciably beneficial to her. Their chief reason is simply this:—They know from the experience of the past that kindness on the part of the Republic will not induce Canada to join their union.

Once before in the history of Canada, trade was stagnant, money was withdrawn from commerce, the best of the population

ph were leaving, and real estate sold for little more than one-
 of its former value. The consequence was, that many Can-
 ans desired a political alliance with the United States. The
 public granted us reciprocity, foolishly thinking that kind-
 ists would win over the Canadians who yet dissented. What
 are the results to Canada? Prosperity immediately ensued
 on account of our trade with the United States increasing from
 \$20,000,000 to \$80,000,000, and Canada remained loyal not to
 her own interests but to Europe. The Americans in the mean-
 time ascertained that the terms which benefited Canada, did it
 at their expense, and that their kindness to Canada had the
 effect of causing her to withdraw from political union with them.
 So the Republic abrogated the treaty and has never renewed it,
 although often solicited.

The present financial depression is again causing Canadians
 to think most seriously, but unfortunately for us the Americans
 have learnt their lesson from the experience of the past, and
 they never require to be taught the same lesson a second time.
 They know that kindness on their part will never cause Canada
 to join them, therefore, as long as we remain a part of the British
 Empire, they will treat us, not unkindly, but merely with utter
 indifference—just the same as Britain does. They will act to-
 wards us the same as they do toward any nation who exports
 the same products, and give us no advantage whatever on ac-
 count of our relationship—which is again just the same as Brit-
 ain does. This conduct on the part of the United States will
 not be from any ill-feeling toward us, but from a knowledge
 that the pursuance of this course of action will be certain to
 promote their interests—both in the present from the duties they
 derive from our exports and from the immigration of our
 youth—and also in the future by making certain our union
 with them. They will defer the revelation of their kindly feel-
 ings for their neighboring northern cousins until we unite with
 them. The Americans are well aware of the fact that nothing
 but the desire to promote our selfish interests will ever cause
 Canada to agree to political union; consequently they will so
 regulate their policy that it will be to our interests to desire
 this union.

In order to benefit ourselves, let us join with our American
 cousins on equal terms, and build up a mighty nation, extending
 from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic circle, and from the shores
 of the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, in which all farmers will
 have the same free markets and enjoy the same privileges.
 Our interests are identical with the interests of Canada, so in
 advocating political union, you both benefit your homes and act

the part of patriots. Let this policy be ably represented in legislative halls. Let the Parliament of Great Britain and Congress of America sanction it. Then the English speaking people of America will be one nation, the greatest, richest, and most intelligent that the world has ever seen; and the two great families of Anglo-Saxons will join hands across the Atlantic in a clasp of eternal friendship.

THE PROVINCES AS STATES.

Under Continental Union each Province would retain its name, organize its own internal government, and make and enforce all its own civil and criminal laws. Our village, town, city, township and county councils, having been borrowed from the States and not from Britain, would remain as they are at present. It is probable, however, that we would of our own accord gradually reduce the number of the members of these councils in accordance with more business-like ideas. The majority of the custom houses between Canada and the United States would be abolished. We could, and likely would, retain our present educational system. Our Provincial parliaments have since Confederation been in all the essentials, Republican and not Monarchal, therefore as State parliaments they could remain unchanged. We are in fact in all our Provincial matters now Americans and not British, only we do not know it. They would obey the same Provincial laws as we do now. In addition, however, to the present legislative and executive powers of our Provincial or State Parliaments, they would have full power over the criminal laws and some others. We, and not the Premier, would probably, though not necessarily, elect the members of the Provincial or State Cabinet. In the Republic the State Cabinet consists only of a Secretary of State, a State Treasurer and an Attorney-General, though we could have a dozen in the cabinet if we wished. Our present Provincial Lieutenant-Governor would be elected by the people; and called the Governor of Ontario, Quebec, etc. Each province or state could have its own judges, appointed as at present, deciding the same cases by the same laws and with the same jurisdiction. It is not compulsory upon any state to adopt the elective system of appointing judges. There would be a few Federal judges in addition, appointed by the House of Representatives, to decide upon disagreements arising out of foreign treaties, disputes between states, etc. These we would very rarely come in contact with. In short, each province or state would remain as is at present, as regards all the essentials of its internal management, the only difference would be the increased independence and legislative and executive powers of our local provincial

parliaments. Each state or province is supposed to look out for itself in all matters pertaining to its own business. The United States is a confederacy of numerous, separate and independent nations, joined together for the public good of its citizens.

Although the provinces would remain undisturbed, the changes at Ottawa would be startling. The Governor-General and attendant nobility, the Commander-in-Chief, the High Commissioner in London, the Canadian House of Lords alias the Senate, the Premier and his Cabinet, all the Dominion members of Parliament and all the numerous salaried officials at Ottawa, would be dismissed. These, number over 350; their yearly salaries vary from \$50,000 each, down to the comfortable pittance of \$1,000, and mileage, for a few months attendance. This would effect an immense saving to Canada. The most of the real work they now do would be transferred to and reformed by the provincial or state legislatures. The small amount of legislation remaining to be performed would only require 25 representatives, who would be elected to the House of Representatives of the great Confederacy. This Confederacy also has a Senate to which the parliament of each province or state would elect two members. By this procedure, we should retain all our characteristics and advantages, and abolish the cumbersome, useless and expensive part of our legislative machinery. Our business as a nation would be conducted upon a business basis. The electorate would select as our public servants the ablest of our citizens. They would be paid only in accordance with the work done, and there would be no fat purses for titled incapables.

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ERRATA.

Introduction line 28	treatise	instead of	treaties.
Page 8, line 33,	inexhaustable	" "	unexhaustable.
" 9, "	28, within sight	" "	inwitsight.
" 11, "	32, locate	" "	locat.
" 12, "	36, duties	" "	doties
" 12, "	37, United	" "	Unsted.
" 14, "	9, saw	" "	sawed.
" 28, "	36, fulfillment	" "	fulfilment.
" 29, "	14, decide	" "	deside.
" 30, "	18, exports	" "	experts.
" 42, "	36, paid	" "	payed.
" 43, "	13, separately	" "	seperately.
" 44 "	6, Roumania	" "	Romania.

